2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

551 553 her original name, but as the father or mother of this first-born child. Thus, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa is known by the Christian name Antonio Napa, but is almost invariably called pī′tcū-apa, signifying "father of pī′tcū." Correspondingly his wife is known as pī′tcū-ama, "mother of pī′tcū." Such a name usually persists regardless of the names of any of the younger children and regardless of whether or not the eldest child still lives. In the case cited, the eldest son, pī′tcū, died several years ago and there are several younger children in the family, but the names pī′tcū-apa and pī′tcū-ama still persist. Now and then a person is found whose original nickname is used even after the birth of his children, but this is very exceptional.

PUBERTY

●881 As in the case of birth, there appear to be almost no restrictions upon or ceremonies for either sex on reaching puberty, which is again contrary to the customs of most aboriginal peoples. Some even maintain that there are absolutely no restrictions, but others claim that girls at the age of puberty are prohibited for a short period [841] from going about and from bathing. This latter statement seems the more probable, in view of the fact that during their menstrual periods the older women are subject to the same restrictions, though they are not otherwise restricted in their actions at such times.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

Just as there are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty, there are similarly none for a girl. When the menstrual periods begin, the girl is not alarmed since she has heard the women speak of this phenomenon and therefore knows what to expect. Girls are "ashamed" to tell anyone when the menstrual discharge /suásа/ /su/ 'vagina', 'asa/ 'blood,' first appears. In fact, no one likes to talk about it at all, but there are no taboos concerning it. The menstrual discharge is not considered dangerous in any way, and the women may eat anything, bathe in the river, work in the gardens, and engage in sexual intercourse. The women claim that they experience no cramping, nor other discomfort during catomenia.

Household. Relations within the family tend to be amiable and affectionate. Husband and wife may joke with each other and with the children. The children are taught to respect their parents and other relatives, but no special behavior is expected for different kinds of relatives. It is expected however, that siblings will form an especially intense bond and brother-sister